

## Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /004 R

66011  
DRAFTED BY:NEA/INS:BWBROWN:EI  
APPROVED BY:NEA/INS:BWBROWN  
----- 024612

R 202321Z APR 76  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

S E C R E T STATE 095804

FOLLOWING REPEAT NEW DELHI 5547 ACTION SECSTATE INFO  
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS DTD 15 APR

QTE

S E C R E T NEW DELHI 5547

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, CE  
SUBJ: NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY STUDIES: INDIA

REF: A. STATE 082479 B. NEW DELHI 3090

SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE IS OUR REPLY TO REF A.  
IT SUPPLEMENTS OUR ASSESSMENT OF INDIA'S MULTILATERAL  
DIPLOMACY REPORTED IN REF B. END SUMMARY.

1. WE BELIEVE INR'S OUTLINE, AS USED IN THE GUYANA  
SAMPLE STUDY, WILL WELL SERVE THE PURPOSE OF THE  
PROJECTED INDIA COUNTRY STUDY. WE WOULD ONLY SUGGEST  
AN ADDITION OF MATERIAL -- IN THE SECTION "RECEPTIVITY  
TO US PERSUASION AND INFLUENCE" -- ON THE EXPECTED

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BEHAVIOR OF THE CONCERNED COUNTRY'S DELEGATIONS AT

THE COLOMBO SUMIT AND THE MEETINGS LEADING UP TO IT. TO SOME EXTENT THIS WAS COVERED IN THE "MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS" TELEGRAM ON INDIA (REF B), BUT END-USERS AMY ALSO BE INTERESTED IN AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROBABLE RESPONSIVENESS OF EACH COUNTRY'S DELEGATIONS AS SEEN FROM WASHINGTON. SPECIFICALLY, A STUDY COULD INCLUDE ANSWERS TO SUCH QUESTIONS AS: HOW TECHNICALLY COMPETENT ARE THE CONCERNED COUNTRY'S DELEGATIONS TO DEAL WITH CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ECONOMICS; HOW DEPENDENT ARE THE DELEGATIONS ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THEIR CAPITALS; AND TO WHAT EXTENT DO WE HAVE PERSONAL ACCESS TO THOSE WHO MAKE THE DECISIONS AND ISSUE THE INSTRUCTIONS, ASSUMING THEY ARE KNOWN.

2. WITH RESPECT TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROJECTED INDIA STUDY, WE BELIEVE THE GOI MAINLY SEES THE NAM AS A VEHICLE FOR DEFINING AND ADVANCING ITS OWN REGIONAL INTERESTS, INCLUDING ITS CONTROVERSIAL POLICIES TOWARDS BANGLADESH AND THE HIMALAYAN KINGDOMS. AS NOTED IN REF B, A PRIMARY MOTIVE OF INDIAN POLICY IN ALL SUCH FORUMS IS TO MAKE DIFFICULT PAKISTAN'S ACQUISITION OF INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE, INCLUDING A NON-ALIGNED ROLE. THE STRESS PUT HERE RECENTLY ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING THE "PURITY" OF NON-ALIGNED MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA REFLECTS INDIA'S CURRENT CONCERN THAT THE PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES THROUGH THE NAM WOULD BECOME MUCH MORE DIFFICULT IF PAKISTAN WERE AN NAM MEMBER (FOREIGN MINISTER CHAVAN HAS COMPLAINED THAT UNNAMED FORCES ARE INTENT ON DILUTING NON-ALIGNED PRINCIPLES, AND HIS DEPUTY DECLARED MARCH 28 AND AGAIN APRIL 7 THAT SOME POWERS WERE TRYING TO INFILTRATE AND WEAKEN THE MOVEMENT FROM WITHIN).

3. ROMANIA'S CANDIDACY FOR OBSERVER STATUS IS INDIA'S IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, FOR IT IS SEEN AS THE OPENING WEDGE, BUT PARTICIPATION BY PAKISTAN AND ITS POSSIBLE EFFORT TO RALLY THE MOSLEM GROUP WITHIN THE MOVEMENT BEHIND IT ON SUBCONTINENTAL ISSUES IS THE LONG-TERM INDIAN CONCERN. THE GOI IS REPORTEDLY UNDER STRONG PRESSURE

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FROM YUGOSLAVIA ON ROMANIA'S CANDIDACY. THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL COUNSELOR RECENTLY DEPLORED TO US INDIA'S "LEGALISTIC" AND "FORMALISTIC" PREOCCUPATION WITH NAM CRITERIA, SAYING THAT THE GOI SHOULD APPRECIATE THAT AN HISTORIC PROCESS LEADING TO THE BREAK-UP OF THE BLOCS IS UNDERWAY, OF WHICH THE NAM MUST TAKE ACCOUNT. YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER MINIC, ON ARRIVING IN DELHI APRIL 14 FOR THREE DAYS OF TALKS WITH INDIAN OFFICIALS,

ASSURED NEWSMEN AT THE AIRPORT THAT YUGOSLAVIA ITSELF HAS NO APPREHENSIONS OR FEARS THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-ALIGNMENT WILL BE DILUTED. THE INDIANS OF COURSE FEEL SOMEWHAT EMBATTLED AT THIS TIME ON THE QUESTION OF NON-ALIGNED PRINCIPLES BECAUSE OF CHARGES COMING FROM EGYPT THAT INDIA HAS ITSELF DAMAGED THE NAM BY BOWING TO SOVIET PRESSURE AND WITHHOLDING ARMS SUPPLIES (NEW DELHI 4534).

4. INDIA ALSO PURSUES ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS IN NON-ALIGNED FORUMS UNDER THE COVER OF SUCH FORMULAS AS "EXTENDING DETENTE TO ASIA" AND "MAKING THE INDIAN OCEAN A ZONE OF PEACE FREE FROM GREAT POWER RIVALRY." BOTH RECENTLY FOUND EXPRESSION IN THE MEA'S ANNUAL WRAP-UP OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (NEW DELHI 4986) AND BOTH WILL SURELY BE PROMOTED BY INDIAN SPOKESMEN AT NON-ALIGNED GATHERINGS IN COMING MONTHS. SUCH FORMULAS REFLECT INDIA'S INTEREST IN STRENGTHENING ITS OWN HAND IN THIS REGION BY KEEPING THE BIG POWERS OUT. ALTHOUGH PRIVATELY INDIAN OFFICIALS ARE REALISTIC ABOUT THEIR PROSPECTS FOR ACHIEVING THIS END, THEY PROBABLY HOPE THAT A SEAL OF APPROVAL FROM THE NAM AS WELL AS THE UNGA WILL ACT AS A POLITICAL CHECK ON THE EXTENT OF BIG-POWER ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA. ALTHOUGH THE INDIANS ARE NOT PARTICULARLY EVEN-HANDED TOWARD THE BIG POWERS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES (E.G., THEY LARGELY TURN A BLIND EYE TO SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN), THEIR FORMULATIONS ARE AT LEAST USUALLY SEMANTICALLY BALANCED. NEVERTHELESS, WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY HELP FROM INDIAN SPOKESMEN WHEN THE DRAFTSMEN AT COLOMBO SET TO WORK ON SUBJECTS SUCH AS DIEGO GARCIA.

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5. A QUESTION MIGHT BE ASKED WHETHER INDIA ALSO SEES THE NON-ALIGNED AS A VEHICLE FOR GAINING ECONOMIC BENEFITS. THERE WAS APPARENTLY SOME THOUGHT OF THIS IN 1973 AND 1974 WITH REGARD TO CHANNELING OPEC FUNDS THROUGH NON-ALIGNED MECHANISMS, E.G., A NON-ALIGNED BUFFER-STOCK FUND. BUT SUCH SPECIFICS GAINS PROVED A CHIMERA, AND THE GOI ALMOST CERTAINLY REALIZES THIS. MORE GENERALLY, HOWEVER, THE INDIANS PROBABLY SUPPORT THE USE OF THE MOVEMENT AS A PLATFORM FOR EXPOUNDING THE DEMANDS OF THE NIEO AND FOR BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES TO GRANT ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS. THUS INDIA MAY SEE A CERTAIN LOGROLLING POSSIBILITY IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN THE SENSE OF EXCHANGING ITS SUPPORT FOR NAM UNITY ON CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL ISSUES FOR SUCH UNITY ON ECONOMIC ISSUES

OF INTEREST TO INDIA. IN PARTICULAR, INDIA HAS APPARENTLY SUCCEEDED IN THE PAST IN HAVING THE NON-ALIGNED ADOPT RESOLUTIONS FAVORING ECONOMIC PREFERENCE FOR THE MSAS.

5. AS A FINAL NOTE, WE BELIEVE INDIA WOULD NOT SEE ITS INTERSTS SERVED BY A CONFRONTATIONAL STANCE ON THE PART OF THE MOVEMENT. INDIA SEES THE NAM AS A CEHICLE FOR STRENGTHENING THE POSITION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES, BUT ITS PURPOSE SHOULD BE TO BARGAIN AND NOT TO DISRUPT. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS UNLIKELY THE INDIANS WILL GIVE US REAL SUPPORT ON QUESTIONS SUCH AS CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA OR LATIN AMERICAN OR KOREAN AND MIDDLE EAST ISSUES. AT MOST WE CAN EXPECT THEM TO WORK FOR MORE MODERATE NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE, MAINLY IN THE INTEREST OF ENHANCING NAM'S OVERALL CREDIBILITY. BUT INDIA WILL KEEP THOSE EFFORTS WELL BEHIND-THE-SCENES.

6. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO REPEAT THIS MESSAGE TO SELECTED POSTS.

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION, NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 20 APR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** greeneet  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE095804  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** NEA/INS:BWBROWN:EI  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760150-0479  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760442/aaaabjhi.tel  
**Line Count:** 193  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN NEA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 STATE 82479, 76 NEW DELHI 3090  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** greeneet  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 JUN 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <03 JUN 2004 by buchant0>; APPROVED <29 SEP 2004 by greeneet>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY STUDIES: INDIA  
**TAGS:** PORG, CE, IN  
**To:** ISLAMABAD MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006